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PAGE 01 STATE 092557

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SUBJ: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 6, EDITORIAL, PAGE 34, HEADLINED "DETENTE AND TRADE".
2. FORMER SOVIET PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV'S APPEAL, NOT LONG BEFORE HIS DEATH, FOR A MORE ENLIGHTENED COMMUNIST SOCIETY IN WHICH POLICY MEASURES AGAINST INTELLECTUALS WOULD BE BARRED RAISES THE QUESTION AGAIN OF WHAT, IF ANYTHING, THE UNITED STATES CAN DO TO ADVANCE THIS EVOLUTION.
3. "IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT PEOPLE ENJOY THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHTS HERE IN THE SOVIET UNION," MR. KHRUSHCHEV SAID IN HIS TAPE-RECORDED MEMOIRS. "IT WAS FOR THOSE RIGHTS THAT TEN MILLION OR MORE OF OUR CITIZENS PAID WITH THEIR LIVES IN STALIN'S JAILS AND CAMPS."
4. ONE VIEW IN THE UNITED STATES IS THAT SOVIET LIBERAL-IZATION AND FREER EMIGRATION CAN BE ADVANCED BY WITHHOLD-

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PAGE 02 STATE 092557

ING AMERICAN TRADE AND CREDITS. THAT VIEW IS EMBODIED IN

THE JACKSON AMENDMENT TO THE TRADE BILL, WHICH HAS BEEN ENDORSED BY SUCH SOVIET DISSIDENTS AS NUCLEAR PHYSICIST ANDREI SAKHAROV.

5. THE CONTRARY VIEW HAS JUST BEEN REITERATED BY MR. SAKHAROV'S OLD FRIEND AND FELLOW DISSIDENT, THE HISTORIAN ROY MEDVEDEV, WHO BELIEVES THAT TRADE EXPANSION AND CONTINUED DETENTE ARE MORE LIKELY TO NURTURE FREEDOM IN SOVIET SOCIETY, INCLUDING FREER EMIGRATION. DENIAL OF TRADE AND OTHER WESTERN PRESSURES BEYOND "A CERTAIN LIMIT" MIGHT BOOMERANG, HE ARGUES, AND LEAD TO A TIGHTENING OF SOVIET POLICY CONTROLS.

6. THE MEDVEDEV VIEW APPEARS TO US TO BE THE MORE REALISTIC ONE. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT QUIET DIPLOMACY SHOULD NOT BE EMPLOYED TO PRESS FOR FREER EMIGRATION AND CHANGES IN SOVIET FOREIGN, DEFENSE AND DOMESTIC POLICIES WHICH ENDANGER DETENTE. OF COURSE IT SHOULD; BUT THERE ARE SEVERE LIMITS TO WHAT CAN BE ACHIEVED.

7. THE SOVIET NEED FOR AMERICAN TRADE AND CREDITS IS DECLINING, REDUCING THE LEVERAGE THE UNITED STATES CAN EXERT ON SOVIET POLICIES. AS A MAJOR EXPORTER OF RAW MATERIALS, INCLUDING PETROLEUM, THE SOVIET UNION HAS GAINED FROM THE FOUR-FOLD RISE IN OIL PRICES LAST YEAR. INCREASED EARNINGS FROM OIL EXPORTS ALONE PROMISE TO COVER GENEROUSLY THIS YEAR THE SOVIET UNION'S HARD CURRENCY BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS DEFICIT, WHICH AMOUNTED TO \$1.3 BILLION IN 1972. THAT IS THE CONCLUSION OF A STUDY BY PROF. MARSHALL GOLDMAN, OF WELLESLEY COLLEGE, ONCE A FIRM SUPPORTER OF SENATOR JACKSON'S DEMANDS, WHO NOW ARGUES THAT CONGRESS CAN NO LONGER BE UNREASONABLE IN THE CONCESSIONS ASKED OF THE RUSSIANS IN EXCHANGE FOR TRADE AND CREDITS.

8. "THE RUSSIANS MIGHT WELL AGREE TO MAINTAIN EMIGRATION RATES FOR SOVIET JEWS AT THE LEVELS THAT PREVAILED IN 1973 AND MIGHT ALSO CONCEDE TO STOP HARASSMENT, BUT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT CONCESSIONS THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN MADE A YEAR AGO," HE TOLD THE SENATE BANKING COMMITTEE. UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 092557

9. THE GOLDMAN STUDY SUGGESTS THAT THE JACKSON AMENDMENT, IF IT EVER HAD ANY VALUE, HAS BECOME A DWINDLING ASSET. FREE WORLD TRADE LIBERALIZATION IS BEING HELD UP WITHOUT GAINING SOVIET CONCESSIONS. THE CONGRESS WOULD BE BETTER ADVISED TO PERMIT REASONABLE TRADE AND MODEST CREDITS TO GO FORWARD IN THE INTERESTS OF DETENTE. RUSH

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